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## LESSON 9

### THE MULTINATIONAL ENVIRONMENT: THE UNITED NATIONS AND NATO IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

#### Introduction

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<b>Purpose</b>	<p>This lesson explains</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>wHow the U.N. and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) evolved</li><li>wHow the U.N. and NATO relate to the U.S.</li><li>wFactors that interfere with the U.N. and NATO to make decisions</li><li>wProspects for the U.N. and NATO in the next century</li></ul>
<b>Importance of the Study</b>	<p>The U.S. military will continue to operate and train with U.N. and NATO forces. It is important that Marines understand these institutions and are prepared to operate with U.N. and NATO forces.</p>
<b>Relationship to Other Instruction</b>	<p>This lesson is an important link to the other lessons that follow in this curriculum, especially in <i>Operational Level of War</i> (8803) and <i>Operations Other Than War</i> (8809). Among other things, current U.S. military strategy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>wFocuses on peacetime engagement</li><li>wViews the multinational environment as being <i>essential</i> to the successful execution of military operations</li></ul> <p><b>Notes:</b> Recurring themes in this lesson reappear throughout the curriculum, including <i>Operational Level of War</i> (8803) and <i>Operations Other Than War</i> (8809).</p> <p>This lesson does not duplicate the "U.N. Peace Operations" lesson in the <i>Operations Other Than War</i> (8809) course. The main purpose of addressing the U.N. and NATO in this course is to demonstrate their linkage to national security strategy.</p>
<b>Study Time</b>	<p>This lesson, including the issues for consideration, will require about 3.5 hours of study.</p>

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#### Educational Objectives

<b>Evolving U.N. and NATO</b>	Understand the significance and implications of the evolving nature of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the post-Cold War era. [JPME Area 3a]
<b>U.S./U.N. U.S./NATO</b>	Assess the relationship between the U.S. and U.N. on one hand, and the U.S. and NATO on the other.
<b>U.N. and NATO Decision Making</b>	Understand the decision making process in the U.N. and NATO at the strategic level and its impact on U.S. military operations. [JPME Area 4b]
<b>Problems and Prospects for U.N. and NATO</b>	Consider the problems and prospects of the U.N. and NATO in the next century, particularly as they relate to joint operations in the multinational environment. [JPME Area 3a]
<b>JPME Areas/ Objectives/Hours (accounting data)</b>	3/a/1.0 4/b/0.5

# The Evolving Role of the U.N. and NATO

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## **The Cold War Era**

During most of the Cold War, the two superpowers--the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.--managed conflict by abiding by both written and unwritten rules of behavior. The superpowers created NATO and the Warsaw Pact to keep conflicts on the periphery (Korea, Cuban missile crisis, Vietnam) within well-defined limits thereby resolving those problems outside the U.N. framework. Throughout the Cold War, the superpowers subjected the U.N. and NATO to pressure and manipulation.

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## **From the Cold War to the Gulf War**

With the end of the Cold War has brought the U.N. and NATO under increased scrutiny. The Cold War took a heavier toll on the U.N., while NATO, presently enjoying widespread public support in Western Europe and North America, has become the paramount collective defense mechanism in Europe.

As NATO has gained strength, the U.N. has proportionately lost power. The successful U.S.-led U.N. coalition in the Gulf War was the first indication that international relations had indeed changed. The U.N. is now expected to do more than simply remain a forum for rhetorical exchanges between states.

NATO, with its whole collective defense structure having been built around the threat of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe, is facing the reality of the disappearance of its nemesis, the Soviet Union.

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## **Today**

Today, however, the rise of ethnic, national, and religious conflicts is propelling both the U.N. and NATO to center stage. In fact, some scholars argue that today, there are no rules. Instead, there is a vacuum that the U.N. could fill, given the opportunity to do so by the great powers, most notably the United States.

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## The Challenge of Globalization

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### Problems of Globalization

A number of key, interconnected issues require new solutions and different leadership from those that existed during most of the Cold War. These issues cannot be solved by force alone and arise from

wFinancial instability

wStagnant economic and political development in the Third World

wEnvironmental concerns

wPolitical and economic refugees

wTerrorism

wDrug trafficking

wMoney laundering

wThe rise of nationalist and ethnic identification or isolation

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### Third World

Globalization, which has many positive aspects, continues to hamper economic development in the Third World, as those countries continue to lag far behind the more advanced technological and industrial states.

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### U.N. Scapegoat

Globalization has also created a sense of insecurity, coupled with a loss of values in many countries, particularly those in the West. As a result, the more prosperous states want to turn inward and avoid further economic involvement in the outside world, a phenomenon former U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali has referred to as "donor fatigue." This tendency to turn inward creates an atmosphere in which the U.N. becomes responsible for handling a variety of problems and becomes the scapegoat if the U.N. solutions are unsuccessful.

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## Constraints on U.N. Peacekeeping Missions

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### **Lack of a Mandate**

Although the need for expanded peacekeeping missions has increased dramatically since the early 1990s, the U.N. continues to suffer from the lack of a mandate for its members to provide troops and equipment. This lack of mandate is a fallout from the Cold War.

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### **Charter**

Under its charter, the U.N. may carry out either peacekeeping operations (Chapter VI) or, under extreme circumstances, peace *enforcement* operations (Chapter VII). In either of these two cases, force may be applied only as a last resort and only sparingly in self-defense.

United Nations peacekeeping rules prohibit it from engaging in war against combatants. Instead, U.N. troops must remain neutral and, hence, limit their activities to simply "separating" the combatants from one another to avoid further bloodshed.

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### **Peace Enforcement vs. Peacekeeping**

Peace enforcement is not as clear-cut as is peacekeeping and, to this day, remains highly controversial and subject to multiple interpretations. Under some very narrow circumstances, U.N. troops can engage in peace enforcement once they establish a buffer zone between two combatants, but such activities must not go beyond the buffer zone. The difference between Chapter VI and VII operations revolves around the concept of *neutrality*, with Chapter VI almost always guaranteeing it, while Chapter VII does not.

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## The Future of the United Nations

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### **Nature of the Question**

The question to ponder here is not whether the U.N. is or is not getting stronger, but what type of operations is the U.N. likely to get involved in during the next century, and what warfighting role are you likely or willing to play in such operations.

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### **Possible U.N. Roles**

The U.N. could do more in the humanitarian and environmental arenas, but it needs more resources to do so. Despite the end of the Cold War, states are reluctant to give up their global prerogatives. The U.N. is unable or unwilling to challenge this assumption due to its heavy financial reliance on the U.N. member states, particularly the U.S. which owes the U.N. approximately \$1.7 billion. A unilateral world in which the U.S. is unquestionably dominant has profound implications for the U.N. and for the use of force to settle disputes.

This continued international anarchy will surely spill over into the U.N., rendering it ineffective as an instrument of diplomacy or enforcement. In a unilateral anarchistic world, an independent-minded Secretary General is likely to be shunned by those who prefer to keep the old order of power politics alive and well while paying lip service to positive multilateralism.

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### **Need for Consensus Among Members**

Nothing is likely to be done without the consent of the member states--first and foremost the U.S. Lacking this consent reduces the U.N. to a reflection of the competition for power among member states. Critical to the future evolution of the U.N. will be cooperation outside the U.N. between the U.S. and new actors such as non-governmental organizations and regional organizations such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Conference and the European Union.

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### **Role of the Secretary General**

Finally, the exact role of U.N. Secretaries General in the next century will remain unclear. They will be called upon to institute certain kinds of reforms from within such as reducing the U.N. bureaucracy, but the real reforms are *structural*--they must be initiated by the Security Council. Secretaries General who call for an even-handed approach to world problems are themselves likely to become isolated and lonely.

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## Required Readings

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**Strategic Level of War Readings** *The North Atlantic Treaty & The Declaration of Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council 10-11 January, 1994.* This reading is located immediately following this lesson, pp. I-3 to I-12. This document contains the original 14 articles of The North Atlantic Treaty signed on 4 April 1949. This is a press release from NATO HQ as a reaffirmation of the original treaty.

Institute for National Strategic Studies. "Europe." *Strategic Assessment 1997*, Chapter 3, pp. 27 to 44. This reading is located immediately following this lesson, pp. I-13 to I-30. By referencing a decade of economic problems, revolutionary changes, the struggle of resources versus requirements, and the influence of U.S. interests, this assessment uses each of the above to show the European agenda.

Gooch, John. "Rethinking the 'Ould' Alliance: Europe and the United States After the Cold War," *Brassy's Mershon American Defense Annual 1996-1997*, Chapter 4, pp. 95 to 113. This reading is located immediately following this lesson, pp. I-31 to I-49. Gooch takes a look at the mandatory changes in foreign policy and National Security as governments from both sides of the Atlantic Ocean adjust to the post-Cold War structure shift in Europe.

"Summary of the Dayton Peace Agreement." This reading is located immediately following this lesson, pp. I-51 to I-62. In addition to listing the specifics of the Peace Agreement, this document also highlights the military and civilian aspects of implementing it, regional stabilization, territorial agreements, and elections.

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## For Further Study

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### Supplemental Readings

The readings listed are **not** required. They are provided as recommended sources of additional information about topics in this lesson that may interest you. They will increase your knowledge and augment your understanding of this lesson.

*NATO HANDBOOK*, pages 21-60; 72-89, 155-178; 265-282.

*Charter of the United Nations*.

Morrison, James. *NATO Expansion and Alternative Future Security Alignment*. Washington D.C.: National Defense University, 1995, pages vi-viii.

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## Issues for Consideration

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**NATO's  
Strategic  
Concept**

What is NATO's strategic concept in the post-Cold War era?

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**Dissolving or  
Expanding  
NATO**

What are some arguments for dissolving or expanding NATO?

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**Comparing the  
PFP with NATO**

How does the PFP differ from NATO expansion?

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**Impact of the  
U.N. and NATO  
on the U.S.**

How do you think the U.N. and NATO decision making impact the U.S. in terms of its own strategic decision making?

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